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Work and Pay

A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, New York, on the Eve of Labor Day, Sunday, September 4, 1892

By the

Rt. Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D.

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at the request of the

Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor

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The following is an alleged report of this sermon which appeared the next morning, September 5, in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

It is printed here as a too-common specimen of the degradation and irresponsibility of a certain class of newspaper.

AN EXTRAORDINARY BISHOP.

WILD TALK IN OLD TRINITY CHURCH.

REMARKABLE SERMON FROM A PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PRELATE OF MISSISSIPPI TO LABORING MEN.

A special Labor Day service was held at Trinity Church last evening, under the auspices of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. The Rev. Dr. Hugh Miller Thompson, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, delivered the sermon to an audience which completely filled the church. As early as half-past seven o'clock all the seats had been taken, and from then until after eight the people came in throngs. The audience was composed of almost every class in the community; but the laboring man predominated. A special service, lasting fully an hour, was given before the sermon, and several hymns, which had been written especially for the occasion, were sung by the choir and congregation in unison. Thousands of intelligent laboring men, closely packed into the pews and, crowding the aisles, waited patiently for the Bishop to begin his sermon, for it had been rumored that he would take a pronounced and decided stand in favor of labor against capital. The front row of pews was reserved for the members of the Association under whose auspices the service was held, but it was impossible to keep the crowd out of them, and many of the members had to stand with the rest of the people.

During the course of the sermon the Bishop was frequently interrupted by exclamations of approval, and it is safe to say that if the sermon had been delivered in any place but a church, there would have been exhibited a most vigorous and hearty approval of the stand he took. As it was there was a demonstration seldom seen in a church, and as the congregation slowly moved out men gathered in groups to discuss the statements which the Bishop had made.

He selected as the subject of his sermons "Labor's Conflict Against Capital," and he took a most pronounced position in favor of labor. He railed against the Government of the United States, saying "It affords no protection to life and property," and he advocated restricting the power of government and confining its functions to simple police duty. He warned the laboring classes not to appeal to government for aid in their troubles, for they would get none; and he asserted in the strongest terms that "all government, as it at present exists, is an enemy to the advancement of mankind in general and prevents an equal distribution of wealth among

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men." He declared that honest, ambitious men were not trying to get rich, but merely were working to get enough money to maintain themselves and families. The present government, he said, "limits itself to the taxing of the people in the interest of the capitalists and does not afford any adequate protection to life and property."

He further said "the Anarchist is even deserving of sympathy. Although his measures are violent and barbarous, he is acting upon the principle of the survival of the fittest, and fighting in his way for his natural rights." The Bishop believed that men should organize in order to make a successful fight against poverty and government as it now exists. He made the statement that "the Republican party has never done anything for the advancement of the interests of the laboring classes," and President Lincoln he said, "when he released the slaves, acted as a despot, with the power of an army behind him." The speaker was especially bitter against the American millionaire who goes abroad "and spends his money there." The present brotherhoods and trades unions he was not in sympathy with, as he wanted the laboring man to organize and be incorporated by the State, so that he could successfully fight against the corporations of capitalists. He said that the American laborer was in a unique and fortunate position, as he was in every respect the equal of his employer. Men worked here because they took a pride in their work and not for personal advancement, and he believes that the reason why all were not successful, was because they did not possess the power of "gathering in." This faculty gave certain people a power over others in the community, so that they received the result of others' skill and labor, which was not just.

During the course of his remarks the audience at times manifested considerable uneasiness, as he attacked indiscriminately the existing order of things. When it was capital he hit, they seemed satisfied, but when he took such pronounced views against the Government and the labor unions, the congregation showed strong signs of dissatisfaction.

Bishop Thompson criticised at length the action of the State of Tennessee in employing convict laborers to take the place of honest men in the mines, and then shooting down these citizens because they drove the convicts from their work. The switchmen's strike at Buffalo, he said, should be taken as a warning by the people of this country, as showing how a few thousand men can completely paralyze the industries of the country. He was especially indignant at the action of the coal magnates in "throwing thousands of miners out of work and allowing them to starve, because if they continued to work the price of coal might be lowered a few cents, for these men have a right to live and earn enough to support their families."

In speaking of the conflict between capital and labor, and its consequent evils, Bishop Thompson said as follows :

"This country is the most enlightened and most advanced, and has the greatest natural resources of any in the world, and we shall soon develop this wealth until we become the richest country in the world. Yet something is radically wrong, for in this land the people are uneasy, and they are uneasy because they are an intelligent and enlightened people. In the conflicts between labor and capital each side appeals in time to the Government. Let labor simply understand that the Government is the last place to appeal to. It is not a fraternal power to provide aid for all that need it, as it should be. It is our duty to take care of government and see that government takes care of us. The whole history of man has been a struggle against government and to induce government to let us alone. The best

government is the one that governs least, and government should only be an arrangement for the maintenance of order and peace. To whom, then, must labor look for aid simply for itself. There is no difference between the employer and the employe in this country so far as I can find. Now do you not see that here is the unique opportunity for American laborers? The single man working by himself has never yet been able to do anything. He must band himself in order to cope with others. I do not believe in the present trades unions and brotherhoods, and I think that the unions should be incorporated by the State, and so fight capital, as they fight labor through their corporations.

"If you are to cheat men you must combine. Capital asks the State to help it to rot the laborer. Organized human society is against all such pirates and sharks. The aim of brotherhood should be to get a more equal distribution of wealth and to give men a chance to gain a living. Our rich men are constantly leaving the country and spending the result of American toil and skill abroad for nothing or worse than nothing. Ireland has complained of absenteeism. There is no greater country in the world for absentees than this, and probably the rich men of this city have spent over $150,000,000 in Europe this year, and yet we hear that there is not money enough in the United States for all.

"We cannot prosper upon another's loss and trouble, and some day the trades unions will undoubtedly consult with the capitalist for the advancing of their mutual interests."

SERMON.

"*All the whole Heavens are the Lord's. The earth hath He given to the children of men.*" (*Prayer Book Version.*)—PSALM 115: 16.

In the beginning when God made man, male and female, "in our image after our likeness," He blessed them and said (it is the first commandment—remember, older than Sinai, older than Moses: grayest of all laws, human or divine), "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and *subdue it* and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over the cattle, and over *all the earth* and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."

It is a command to be obeyed. It is a charter conferring right. It is a King's gift to His son. It confers all royalties, conveys all right. It is because such royalty and

right are conveyed and have been exercised that we are here to-night in this church in one of the world's great cities where two hundred years ago the wolf howled, the eagle screamed and the painted savage crept in the darkness to the slaughter of his foe.

"The earth hath He given to the children of men." You see it is declared again, after centuries of toil and sorrow and pain, the old fact, the basis of the old command. The Hebrew Scriptures never once falter on the primal marching order for the race of man.

They vindicate everywhere the Sovereignty for God—for one great, just and righteous God alone. But they always gladly, cheerily, thankfully proclaim that this "*Adonai Echad*" this "Lord Alone" has given the world to His children, "the children of men," and that all of rich and beautiful and wonderful upon it is their heritage.

And whether one accepts the authority of these Hebrew writings or not, he *must* accept the fact that they fully explain, and grandly account for the unique position that man holds and has held, in all historic days upon this world.

For man alone of all creatures on Earth has felt that he owned the Earth, and had the right to do with it just what he would. He has never hesitated to tear and trample and burst open anywhere the dumb planet from which some wise men say he came, soul and body. He has, from the beginning, claimed absolute and irresponsible sovereignty over it and all it holds.

Even the man of the stone hammer and the flint arrowhead stood upon his sovereignty, and the man of New York to-day would not be startled at the proposal to wall in the Atlantic Ocean for miles outside of Sandy Hook for a new harbor (which by the way, they are building ships at present he may be compelled to do if you discharge your sewage into the Bay much longer), or blow up a whole passage way round the Island from the Sound to

the Hudson, eight fathoms deep, which I think your children will have to do.

Now mind it makes no difference in this case what a man's notions about revelation or inspiration may be. The visible fact is, that men since the dawn of time, the "Ice Age," if you choose, if there ever was such an "Age," have been always working, digging, plowing, planting, sweating; in ice or out of it, to replenish and subdue the Earth and get homes, and hearths and bread and meat and clothes for wife and babies.

For after all, dear friends, that has been the whole story of history since there ever was history. Of course the books are full of wars and battles, and politics and "heroes," so-called. Filled with wonderful things about emperors, kings, queens, statesmen and generals, are the books we call "Histories." But the real story of the world, we are beginning to see in these latter days, is the story of how common people lived and made their homes, and got food and some small comfort for the mother and the children. That has been, and we are all fast seeing it, the real story of mankind. How the average man, no hero, no king, no general, but just the common son of man as he runs, has contrived to obey the old primal command to master the world and get his living out of it.

It was a wise word of one of our wisest poets who made his immortal songs behind his plow :

> "To make a happy fireside clime
> For bairns and wife,
> Is the true pathos and sublime
> Of human life."

I need not tell you how hard has been the battle for mere bread and shelter in the long story. I need not tell you how the children of men have grown in the struggle wiser, stronger, more steadfast, under the toil. How the primal curse, "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," has become a blessing.

The blunders have been frightful—wars which wasted the gifts of God, wretched tyrannies of small and great tyrants which trampled on men's souls and bodies. Yet in spite of all the insanity and wickedness of men, they have, I believe, been steadily climbing to the sense and exercise of the splendid sovereignty with which the Father in Heaven endowed them in the beginning, when He gave this fair World to the Children of Men.

The foremost peoples who have done the World's work in largest measure are finding at last how exhaustless is the heritage, riches in the desolation of the mountains, harvests in the barren sands, power obedient to human use in the stones, light, for the street, and the fireside, and a messenger of swift obedience in the burning leven.

And yet we are facing strange portents among these foremost peoples. They have learned much and carried their conquests far. They have not, it seems, learned how fairly and satisfactorily to divide what they have won, nor amid overwhelming abundance, to find food and shelter for the sons of men.

It is a terrible exhibition of the stupid savagery that still exists in our highest civilization that a whole industrial community goes idle, and a needed product of skill and science, under contract to be supplied, cannot be supplied and so a thousand other men are idle also.

The situation at Homestead has been for months a grim satire upon our civilization, and our political and industrial economics.

Perhaps the later situation at Buffalo is even more startling. For we are confronted with the fact that the intercourse of the whole country, indeed its intercourse with the whole world, may be suddenly closed by a quarrel between employees and employed.

Men have half starved in Pennsylvania coal-towns, while the riches of the mountains lay open at their feet, and poor women and children have meanwhile shivered in New York

tenements because these miners were not allowed to work lest the abundance produced should lower the price of coal fifteen cents per ton !

It is in England, in Belgium, in Germany, in the United States, in the very centres of human toil and amid the abundance of its rewards that outbreaks, strikes, inarticulate fury and dumb despair against felt stupidities and wrongs, are becoming, more and more, constant conditions.

There are no strikes among savages. There are no strikes in poor countries. It is in the countries most industrious, most enlightened, most effectually carrying out the old command, most thoroughly subduing the earth, that the greatest contrasts exist between luxury and want, enormous wealth and abject poverty, between the capital used in subduing the world and the labor which subdues it.

Our own country is possibly the richest in resources in the World. These resources are most rapidly turned to use. We are subduing on all hands. In actual developed wealth we shall shortly be the richest people so far known.

And yet there is something darkly wrong in the results.

For this richest people in this richest land—our share of God's gift—are, this night, the most uneasy people existing.

They are the most uneasy because the most intelligent ! Nowhere is there the like amount of sense and knowledge, of skill and wisdom, of patient, loyal endurance and independence as among the workingmen of the United States !

On the deck of an Atlantic steamer I heard a great English "Iron Master" give voice to this opinion : "Yes, they will beat us. They hire *brains* in America not mere 'hands.' They will, in the end, beat us in our own specialties." It was in 1876. He had been at the Centennial.

I suppose there is not a railroad in the United States that could not to-morrow be handled, ordered, managed, by men selected from its ships, its engines and its cuttings.

I venture to say the whole industry at Homestead can be managed by men now upon the strike. There is not a department, nor a detail in the department that men, on day wages, are not competent to control.

I say this the more readily, because in three cases which I know three most successful railroad presidents were at first track layers or firemen on their roads. And by the way, on the roads of these gentlemen there never has been a strike.

It is the serious part of it. It is the hopeful part of it, too, that in these chaotic and irrational contests there is so much of trained intelligence, of skill, patience, leadership, and gentle manners among the people that depend only upon their brains and hands. There was never anything like it. A starving peasantry has before this revolted against its feudal tyrants. An ignorant, debased population has risen more than once in beast fury, against its brutal masters. But here, in the United States, the struggle is between men of about equal intelligence, equal skill and equal good breeding. I can conscientiously declare that I think one could pick from a locomotive engine to-morrow, a man quite as intelligent, quite as well educated, quite as competent, just as well mannered and well-bred and much more to be trusted to stand at his post till he dies, as, let me say, half a dozen so called "railroad magnates" that I have known.

For, dear friends, this thing is too often forgotten. There are men of highest manhood, of greatest genius, of kingliest nature, who cannot *gather* things. As Agassiz said: "I have no time to make money." There are men who love the work for the work's sake. They have the consciousness of mastership. They can do a thing well, write a poem, preach a sermon, lead an army, run an engine, command a ship, hammer a bar of iron, carve a statue, paint a picture, or shoe a horse. But they have not the magpie instinct for *gathering things*.

They love what they can do. They are proud and happy to do it *well*. They have no reward so great as the satisfaction of doing it well. They beat out the bar, lead the army, preach the sermon, shoe the horse. They are masters there. They realize to themselves the sovereignty. They are children of men. Sons of God—"subduing"—mastering under the old Royal Charter.

I stood one night by the sick bed of an old negro in dire agony. One of the foremost physicians in a great southern city was bringing all his skill and care to bear upon the case. There were hours of toil and breathless anxiety. At four in the morning, a hot August night passed, he said to me, "All right, Doctor, I have won; she'll live. Let's go home."

Mind, not a penny for it! A negro cabin the scene, and the pet doctor of "society ladies" with half boyish glee ran home in the dewy morning rubbing his hands because he had "won." He had saved a poor old negro's life! He was *Master of his case!*

I stood another night beside a rough, common railroad engineer, lying smashed on the track, beside his wrecked engine. He was dying, though none of us knew it then, for the doctors had not come from the city yet. I said "Do you know me, M———?" "Oh, Bishop, is it you?" "Yes, M———." "How was it?" "An open switch, M———." "Oh, yes, an open switch, Bishop, *I stood by?*" "Yes, M———." You stood by! Poor M———. A gentleman gone to his account within the hour. But God in Heaven loves gentlemen. And M——— had driven his "lightning express" engine like a gentleman.

You see what I mean.

The question between Labor and Capital is, in our country, a very peculiar and a very new question.

The most of us belong to Jesus Christ's "great Congregation of the Poor." We have no "Capital" in the ordinary sense of the word, and moreover we don't want any.

We have no time to get rich. We are hammering away continually and enjoying our work, discovering our discoveries, writing our books, shoeing our horses, preaching our sermons, raising our fields of corn, cotton or wheat, writing our songs or training our prize colts, making our speeches in Congress, or smelting our iron ore.

You must accept that. The whole political economy foolery must accept it. The average man does not care to be rich. The whole story of our country is evidence of that. The wisest and best men in the United States never were rich. They are not so now. The men who have made the country, have subdued, conquered, utilized, for our uses, this much of God's gift to the Children of Men, never "made money" and never cared to make it.

They had no time. The men whom we honor in the story of the United States had no time for money making.

George Washington died poor. Thomas Jefferson was a broken man. Abraham Lincoln was not a millionaire. Did Benjamin Franklin make a fortune? Did Jackson or Polk or Arthur? Have the Harrisons, either grandfather or grandson, gathered thousands in our highest place? Or Grover Cleveland, has his aim in this world been to become a millionaire? Poor Grant tried it and his great heart broke!

Did Webster, Clay or Calhoun toil to make fortunes? Or our poets, Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Lowell, or our scientific men from Franklin to Morse, or our historians, Bancroft or Motley, or our great lawyers and jurists, from Jay and Marshall to Field and Fuller, have they been after money?

Why, friends, the great workers, subduers and conquerors in the whole world's history have never had time to bother their heads about money-making! The victories over chaos and waste and the wild war of nature have been always won by poor men.

And it is something to consider and be thankful for, that

the average American who is doing respectable service in this world, sometimes even heroic service, doesn't care for money.

Does that sound strange to you? "What!" you say, looking over this great, busy, greedy, eager city, "do you tell me the object of men in New York is not to get dollars, piles of dollars, and more dollars still?"

I deliberately mean to say that the object of ninety-nine industrious men in *one hundred* in New York is just to get an honest living and succeed in their chosen calling! And the object of many a rich man in New York, rich in money honestly earned by himself or his father, is to find out where he can put some thousands now and then, for other men's good.

For, you see, we start with this advantage in the United States. Our grandfathers (if all the people in New York had grandfathers) were equally poor together. The grandfather of one rich house came to the city, it is said, with a bundle of German flutes under his arm.

But others came. One boy, I like to remember him, a modest, bashful, clumsy New England boy, and he made your *New York Tribune* and gave his money to anybody who asked it.

And another, a Scotch boy, equally clumsy, bashful and poor, but somewhat more "canny" came and he left you your *New York Herald*. It is for you to say what has been done with them since!

Both left their memorials. With all their contrasts each had his ideal, and Horace Greeley and James Gordon Bennett were neither of them working for mere money.

Each worked to earn honest bread for the little flock at home and to do what best he could for the ordering and subduing of the earth in his way, taking honest pride in his work, trying to make it successful. And each has left his memorial in this great city enduring and strong. Shall I recall the sacred memory of Willlam Cullen Bryant?

What need? But I will not pass, in this connection, that gentle scholar who left us only four days ago, and whose stern self-sacrifice to a point of high honor kept him poor all the days of his life, whose name and fame are a possession forever for plain living and high thinking to us and our children.

Dear friends, while this great, rich, luxurious city breeds men of the mould of George William Curtis, who love honor and clean conscience and fair thoughts above long bank accounts, while New York honors them living and mourns them dead, no man shall despair of her, and no man shall say she is wholly given over to the worship of mammon, the service of the flesh, or the false gods of material success!

It has been the making of her, it is the crown of her greatness to-day, this, and not the vastness of her wealth, nor the extent of her Empire, that the queen of the Western World has chosen for her honored names, and set in her heart and the hearts of her children to be honored forever, the roll of her sons who did high service, by tongue or pen or noble deed, for other men, caring not whether, as the world counts, they were rich or poor!

For it is in doing his honest work as it comes to him, in caring for his house and children, and doing his homely duty under the old law that *enduring* success has come to any man.

There are thousands of clergymen in the United States who have held their services and preached their Sermons to-day. Would they change their places for the richest in the land? I know of only two open to the suspicion.

You say "What does all this mean? What has all this to do with capital and labor?"

I answer, dear friends, it has a great deal to do with both. Labor, as such, has no rights. Capital, as such, has no rights. The workingman, as such, has no rights, but also the millionaire, as such, has no rights.

There is just one right in this world which is universal, the right for room to make a living, the right to a man's own life and what he can make of it. That right is involved in the first royal grant.

Now, mind you, making a living may mean living in a log-cabin at one time or in a marble front on Central Park at another. It depends entirely upon the man, the time and the conditions.

There are men in thousands, like myself (if you will pardon me), who do not care a sixpence which. I have a board shanty in the Blue Mountains in North Carolina worth two hundred dollars, I would rather sleep there to-night than in the most "palatial residence" in New York, because I love tumbling brooks, roaring cataracts and the sound of the wind in the forest.

I mean that if I, loving these things, wish to live in the forest and by the cataracts in a shanty, I ought to be allowed to do it.

If you prefer a brown stone or marble front on Fifth Avenue with the clatter of the milkman's cart in the morning, and the rumbling of the stages all day, you ought to be allowed that. *If* I can get what I want, and *if* you can get what you want!

Now I can't get what I want because I am under obligation very solemn, to live in Mississippi, instead of living in North Carolina in the mountains.

And most of you are probably under obligations to live at present in another house and not in a marble front high up on the Avenue.

But if you can ever get that marble front on the Avenue, it will be yours. And if I can ever get excused to lead my ideal life in the board shanty in the mountains it will be mine. Only neither of us must do any wrong in reaching our ideal, nor upset each other on the way, nor break any manly obligations in getting there.

I spoke before of what is called the contest between

Labor and Capital. It is a contest very visible. Nevertheless it is an irrational contest on both sides.

Each side appeals to what is called "Government." I am sorry to see the use of that word in the Chinese way, growing in the United States. In that sense I do not believe in "Governments." "The best government is that which governs least." As "one of your own poets" in quite another connexion "has said" "I am a Democrat." Government is only the arrangement of a community for its own order and peace, that each member of the community may be protected in his life, property and good name. That absolutely is all that any sensible government may exist for—purely police duty internally among its own citizens. And outwardly as a protection against possible enemies. The first part of this duty has never been and is not now perfectly performed in any part of the United States. No community indeed in any part or age of the World has ever entirely performed the ordinary police duty of making life, property, and honor safe.

Governments have taxed, tariffied and dutified to raise money to fight other people. They have never succeeded in making life quite safe at home. More lives have been sacrificed in the United States by murder, homicide or preventable accident five-fold than in all our foreign wars.

More property has been destroyed by arson, riot or robbery ten-fold than by foreign enemies.

And yet we are taxed, and our patriotism appealed to to build ships, and forts, and make "defences" against an imaginary foreign enemy, when for eighty years we could find no enemy in the world, and so turned to cutting each others' throats as an expression of Northern or Southern patriotism!

One might think the Anarchists half right! The governments of the earth are without sense, principle or reason, as soon as you take them far away from the firesides and the home communities. They have based them-

selves on the notion—the old diabolic notion, that men were by nature the enemies of men, and therefore that each people must stand armed and bristling against each other people.

So Europe is to-day an armed camp and every German, French and Russian peasant hoes his poor patch of ground with a soldier on his back.

For the solution of the difference between labor and capital, for the solution of any other differences or difficulties the last place to look for help is to the thing you call "Government."

Government, at its very best, is only the exression of the average good sense and honesty of the people. But no Government ever succeeded in being at one-tenth of its best. Certainly the government of the United States or of any particular State has never in your memory or mine, expressed the best intelligence or honesty of those it represented.

For you and me, and most men trying to make our honest livings on the earth, Government, Federal or State, stands for a thing that gets money from us.

It does not protect our lives from violence, our houses from burglary, or our own good names from slander. In its Federal form it taxes everything we eat, wear, or use, to pay its own running expenses, support two or three hundred thousand patriots and build cruisers, to be ready to fight Chili or the Principality of Monaco some coming century!

The United States has contrived to invent in one century of existence the most expensive government by five-fold in the world, ancient or modern, and to get the least protection out of it for the single citizen.

One wise state has, to save the expense of supporting its thieves and murderers, hired them out in rivalry with *honest miners*, and because they protested, the only way they knew, against being brought into competition with

the farmed out felony of a "sovereign State," has been shooting them right are left. The State was, of course, forced to do so. But it is pitiful.

In this same Sovereign State the Governor has practically interpreted the law, as its newspapers declare, to mean that when a "Gentleman" assassinates another he must not be hanged as the law requires—just sent to be a clerk in the Penitentiary till the next Governor pardons him out!

So whatever be the contests between labor and capital hereafter, let labor, at least, distinctly understand there is no hope for it in any governmental interference.

There is not on record, the single case in which any republican government took the side of labor. I trust there never will be. Republican Governments are supposed to exist on the theory that labor can take admirable care of itself. Alexander freed the serfs of Russia; but Alexander was an arbitrary sovereign. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed freedom to the slaves; but Abraham Lincoln did so outside the Constitution, and as a war measure. In neither case would a constitutional Legislature, Congress or Court have dared to do what these men did!

For the just and wise settlement of the conditions which are confronting the foremost people now there is no hope in the machine we call "Government."

Government is not some paternal power organized to take care of all imbeciles and furnish pap to all fools or knaves, and provide dinners and shirts and greenbacks for all patriots who need them.

I am ashamed that there are people in the United States who have so far forgotten the traditions of their race and country as to think the thing they call "Government" was ever made to take care of anybody. There are some of us yet who believe that it is our duty to take care of "Government," and to see that "Government" most energetically encourages every man to take care of himself!

If we are going into the business of a "Paternal" Government, it most be confessed we have, in the United States, invented the most expensive and extraordinary "Paternal" Government ever dreamed of by man!

It is perhaps natural enough that there should be a superstition that a thing called "Government" is the great Providence over men's lives—that some doings of "Government," should be looked to as the solution of all difficulties.

But the whole history of Man, as a social being, is the story of a struggle with "Governments," a long, painful, wretched story of his struggle to get from under the load of "Governments," and compel "Governments" to let him alone!

The poor, mad Anarchists who come to us from abroad have some cause, as all insane folk have, for their madness!

But did we not settle that a hundred years ago when we proclaimed that the thing called "Government" was only an arrangement by the community to preserve its own quiet and order, and to arrange things so that a man should be able to mind his own business?

We thought we did, without question. And now we are confronted with all the heresies which we thought we had buried, and are taxed and ridden in the interests of all forms of Government, from boodle Aldermen to ring Senators, from town constable to President, the most begoverned people going.

To whom then shall the appeal be made? Here is a condition where every old trouble is coming upon us, where the man who has and the man who has not are pitted against each other in enmity. Here are the submerged, hopeless, and desperate "classes" (pardon me for using a word I detest) growing daily in numbers. Here are the thousands in your City slums, their children growing up in the gutters, if they can succeed in living in their wretched quarters at all.

And on the other hand, here are several hundred thousand Americans this year in Europe spending, it is safe to say, one hundred and fifty million dollars of American money abroad!

Our hearts have all been wrung, by the pitiful appeals of Irish "patriots," against "Absentees." As the O'Sullivan is reported to have said—"the Country is full of Absentees!"

There is no such case of "absenteeism" as the United States can show this very year.

The greatest Landlord in New York—the richest Landlord it is said in the world, is an absentee!

The owner and master of "Homestead" is an "Absentee." The rents and profits more than you dream, of properties and investments in New York are spent in London or Paris! Our rich people are more and more leaving the country, for a time, or permanently, denying all responsibility for their wealth, and spending the results of American toil and skill in waste or worse, in other lands, as they have of course, the legal right to do.

But you say, if "Government" can do nothing, where shall we look? I answer, you must look to yourselves.

My dear friends, do you not see the thing you call "Government" is simply the expression of your own will and your own sense of decency and fitness?

I said a while ago that in this country there is no difference happily, between the employer and the employed in personal character. I know several millionaires employing a great many men. They are gentlemen whom I esteem. I know a number of gentlemen whom they employ. They are also gentlemen whom I esteem. I am glad to say, that in all that grand old name implies the employer is just as good as the employed!

Now here, do you not see, is the unique opportunity of Americans.

The Old Testament tells us God gave the Earth to the

Children of Men. The New Testament tells us the Children of Men are the Children of God. And Jesus says—"All ye are Brethren." I suppose, all things considered, that was the real central fact He came to tell us, and for which He, "the Carpenter's Son," ever stands—"Ye all are Brethren."

The subduing and conquering of the heritage God gave us is to be done by a band of Brothers.

As far as we have gotten it has been always done on that basis. The single man, working by himself and for himself, has never yet "subdued" anything. We have always been compelled to get together to meet common dangers, and assume common risks, or we would not have risen above the lowest savagery. Civilization has proceeded on the principle that "all ye are Brethren" or it would not exist. Every Bank, every Railroad, every "Trust" and "Combine," every corporation of any kind exists on the basis that the battle and the struggle to subdue the Earth and possess it must organize on the basis of Brotherhood, of mutual shoulder to shoulder help.

In no country has this basis so developed and revealed itself as in our own. From the twilight of time comes the command and the inheritance. "The Earth hath He given to the Children of Men"—Replenish it, subdue it, possess it.

From the voice of the Lord Jesus, from the Carpenter's shop in Nazareth, comes the mighty word which tells us how it is to be done. "All ye are Brethren—he that will be the greatest among you let him be your servant."

The battle is to be won by banded brethren. The single isolated man, working for himself, is on the Devil's side. Rich man, poor man, millionaire or tramp, he is on the side of the Devil—of chaos and old Night. On his theory there would not to-day be a civilized country or a civilize city. Mankind would be living, each man in his own wigwam, looking each night for his neighbor's scalp!

In the blessed ordering of human life, we are compelled

to act on the theory of our Brotherhood. Every humane, kindly, civilized gathering of men for a common purpose reveals to us that we are all, rich and poor, in the same boat together, and sink or swim together. We cannot do good to ourselves without doing good to other people. We cannot wrong other men without wronging ourselves. As far as we have won our way in subduing the Earth, we have done it on the principle of Brotherhood.

Wolves have never "subdued" and never will, because they are wolves and devour each other. Men have subdued, and will subdue because they are brethren and help each other.

It is slow to work out but it is working. It is not many years since that it was an accepted piece of "politics" that a war in Europe, scant harvests in Russia, or manufacturing distress in England would in some way benefit the United States. "Make a market" for something somewhere. The old, ignorant and savage notion that one men might profit by another man's misfortunes was actually an accepted principle in political economy! It is appealed to in some politics to day.

We have, thank God, outgrown all that. We understand now that no people prospers by another people's loss, that failure in London means failure in New York, that distress and trouble in Berlin means distress and failure in Chicago —that, whether or no, we are all in the same boat, brothers together!

Why in the last month I have received a half dozen circulars inviting me to join in a half dozen enterprises, nearly all fraudulent, no doubt, but proceeding you see on the ground that we must all get together in some company or corporation, or co-operative undertaking in order even to cheat each other. Our very knaves are proclaiming, "All ye are brethren," when they invite you to take stock in some bogus mine, or some boom town in a swamp or on a mountain out West. They recognize human brotherhood

so far as to hold it sure that if you are even to cheat men, you must make a "combine" to cheat them!

When "Capital" as it is called, combines, it combines on the principle of Brotherhood. It asks the State—that is, the rest of us, to give it new facilities, and special inducements and advantages, that a number of men may go together and be Brothers in some common undertaking. You could not organize a gang of train robbers, or a pirate crew on any other idea. The moment that any corporation or company proceeds on the opposite theory it goes to smash. The Bank President undertakes to run the Bank for his own benefit, not that of the stockholders, and blows up the Bank! The "Railroad Magnate" undertakes to run the road, not for the benefit of the Brothers—the stock and bond owners, but for his own, and wrecks the Road! It has been done a good many times, may be done a few years longer—not many, I trust.

Organized human society is against pirates and sharks, and by the law of survival Pirates are hanged, and sharks caught and their livers fried out!

For the Lord Jesus simply announced an eternal law and fact when he said, "All ye are brethren." The Law stands and inevitably crushes whatever stands opposed, man or system.

I have read much foolish writing, and heard much foolish talk about Trades' Unions and Labor Brotherhoods. I take them to be tentative and temporary—mere groping after better things, after closer unions and vaster Brotherhood. I am sorry they do not get themselves incorporated by the State as the combinations of capital do. They have exactly the same claim to, and the same reason for, special privileges and special position. I think they will come to this.

But while both are compelled to bend to the imperative law of Brotherhood, they both owe their troubles and oppositions to the fact that at present they want a Broth-

erhood on the Devil's principle and not on the Lord's! I mean both try to arrange it so that each Brother's brotherliness is not appealed to, but each Brother's self-profit —"I will make so much more for myself by the help of all these other Brothers!" "I go into the Brotherhood for what I can get out of it."

Dear friends can you not see that this is the thing, that in state or nation, politics or business, is the ruin of things? We are Brothers, and are compelled to row together in some shape. The terrible danger in the storm and stress upon the wild sea is, that so many of us get the rowing done by others, and do not care whether the boat sinks or swims so we get safe to shore with a good mortgage on the cargo!

"If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Baxter Street will give the cholera to Fifth Avenue, if Fifth Avenue does not give due attention to Baxter Street. It is a hard way to prove the Brotherhood of man, but sometimes the only effectual way—a tramp can give the yellow-fever the small-pox or the cholera to a millionaire! Perhaps it is all he has to give, poor fellow, but he gives it freely!

The pressing problem now is not how we shall subdue and win more for human wealth and use from the chaos of unconquered nature. It is how we shall get our gains into more equal distribution. How can we manage so that men shall not starve up to the neck in heaps of corn, that wives and children shall not go in rags, when cloth lies piled unsalable in a glutted market?

"Over-supply" is the word. And "over-supply" means that we have worked so hard and succeeded so well that we don't know what to do with our product, and so a large number of people sit down in the midst of this magnificent success and starve!

Now as we have won all our profits in a civilized world, by working together as brothers, why can we not divide round by working together as brothers? If the arrange-

ment was good for the victory, why not for the results of the victory?

Dear friends, I am sure in no other way will a satisfactory settlement ever come.

Jesus of Nazareth announced the law of all living "All ye are Brethren." His greatest apostle proclaimed the law of action in the heavens and in the earth, "Bear ye one another's heavy loads and so fulfill the law of Christ.'

March together, toil together, enjoy together. It was a grand thing to gain liberty for the single life. Without fraternity individual liberty is just the savage in his hut.

So I say I am thankful for all combinations and associations among men for any good purpose, for mutual help, profit, counsel and support. To get men into step together is a great deal. Trades' Unions, Brotherhoods, Labor Associations of all sorts are gropings toward the abiding law of Brotherhood.

One day the Trades' Union will elect the capitalist an honorary member and ask him to come and consult with the brethren.

One day the Directory of the great corporation will elect among its members the workman from the factory, the engineer from the locomotive to come and consult with the capitalist on the wise ordering of a business which is vital to both.

For I have strong faith in the justice and good common sense of the American people and I have unshakable faith in our Brother the Lord Jesus Christ of Nazarath and his law of Brotherhood. There will be wolves on land, sharks in the ocean, and their counterparts in selfish greed and hungry snarling grab among men.

But Jesus Christ and His law and those who try to follow Him will be too many for them in the long run. We will grasp hands all around and write these eternal laws of His upon our banner: "The Earth hath He given to the Children of men." The Children of men are "the children

of God." "He that will be greatest among you let him be your servant." "Bear ye one another's heavy loads and so fulfill the law of Christ." With these upon their standards the struggling masses of men who just wish to do their fair day's work and keep their wives and children in comfort and content and peace are going to win !

With these those who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of the Carpenter's Son of Nazareth, who don't care to be rich but only to do good work, of which they are not ashamed, will make room for themselves in this world and have grounded hope for the other that they will hear the word "Well done, good and faithful servant."

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